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Death in Hiroshima and World War II

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Memory Through Manga:
Japanese Comic Book Representations of the Trauma of Mass Death in Hiroshima and World
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¹ Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima, Volume One*, trans. Project Gen (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004), 258.

I. Introduction

“Like an eruption from the pit of Hell, the atomic cloud roared up six miles into the sky of Hiroshima... .”² This description immediately sets the scene of the uranium bombing in Hiroshima with an impressive, though somewhat incomprehensible, statistic. Alone, this text would feel abstract, and far away: the “pit of Hell,” while calling up some imagery, is a vastly varied image from reader to reader, and not distinct, since it’s not a place the audience has had any direct contact with. The author, Keiji Nakazawa, thus supplements this text with an establishing shot of the whole mushroom cloud, the mountains in the foreground setting scale in tandem with the data given textually. This gives a more universal image to Nakazawa’s audience, but there’s still a vast distance between reader and event. The next panels bridge this gap, garnering reader sympathy by showing the protagonist of the story, the six-year-old Gen, buried in rubble, disoriented and confused, and questioning his own memory. This question of memory in response to war trauma after World War II in Japan is what this paper will focus on. Looking through comic book panels to the psychological responses to devastation and the narratives of memory that come out of that, I will argue that the manga (Japanese comic books) medium provided the perfect avenue to display these narratives accurately and sympathetically. The authors of the works I will be discussing use this sympathy to frame a political message. These messages, in turn, garner a unique human quality and sense of genuineness that less personal mediums would struggle to attain.

There has been endless discourse on World War II and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and there have been countless stories told by victims, consumed by the masses, and weaponized

² *Barefoot Gen*, 258.

by political actors. In this paper, I would like to examine just four Japanese comic books depicting different aspects of Japanese society during and after World War II, looking at these narratives primarily as windows into memory. These works are: Keiji Nakazawa's 1972 autobiographical *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's Tale*; Nakazawa's later (1975), semi-fictionalized account of the bombing, *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima*; Shigeru Mizuki's 1973, 90%-fact,³ autobiographical *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* depicting his experience as a combatant in the last legs of the war, and his battalion's two suicide charges—one uncompleted, and the other which ends in a mass death of the main characters; and finally Fumiyo Kouno's 2004 historical-fiction *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* depicting a bomb victim and her relatives succumbing to radiation poisoning at various increments after the war (the book is divided into two parts: *Town of Evening Calm* which takes place in 1955, and *Country of Cherry Blossoms* in 1987 and 2004).⁴

Rather than relentlessly trying to authenticate these stories by dissecting them and comparing each detail to the masses of historic records, I shall discuss these works as legitimate expressions of memory, whether that is as memory of the author's own experience, or as a

³ Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 368. The main difference being that in reality, Mizuki himself was exempted from the final suicide charge because he had a severe case of malaria and had lost an arm in an allied bombardment. Rik Spanjers, "Wartime Weddings: Realism and War Representations in Shigeru Mizuki's Onwards Toward Our Noble Deaths," *Image and Narrative* 17 no. 4 (2016), accessed 6 February 2018, <http://www.imageandnarrative.be/index.php/imagenarrative/article/view/1333/1078>, 59.

⁴ It should undoubtedly be noted that I am an American college student who has never been to Japan and who does not speak Japanese. As such, my readings will be based on translated works, and with no knowledge of the original Japanese language, I am unable to comment on what these translations have lost or added to the original works. As a result, I will only be able to analyze the English wordings, which may be slightly different than the linguistic implications of the original Japanese. As an American, I am also loaded with my own cultural baggage of both my place and my time, which inevitably will effect my perceptions. As a historian, it is my duty to be aware of the biases and ignorances and try to find a happy middle between acknowledging these influences and not resigning myself to never being able to understand another point of view, and thus making myself a slave to the unavoidability of my own ignorance. All I can promise is that this paper will strive to find that happy middle.

representation of national, cultural memory. This memory is inextricably affected by states of trauma (again, both national and personal trauma) and as such, can be seen as both a reflection of that trauma and a reaction to it. After giving some historical context, and a short exploration of the medium of manga itself, I will look at how these narratives situate their memories and trauma using different themes. These themes include: depicting main characters with a sense of innocence; showing what holocaust-psychologist Robert J. Lifton terms “psychic numbing”; illustrating the complex new relationship survivors had with this death; denouncing the lack of value of life in Japanese society before the bomb; situating narratives in flashback; and finally the political messages of pacifism and humanity that these narratives seek to convey.

Comics can and have created a new way of understanding trauma and history. The combination of abstracted picture along with text allows for both popular engagement with historical narratives, and through these stories’ very personal natures, encourages empathy in a way unique to the medium. The victims of WWII were dehumanized on multiple levels, making the humanity in these stories much more important than it may have been to other authors with different goals. Thus the connection between reader and author, along with the exploration of personal trauma, is ever more powerful in its allowance of a distinctly human underpinning to drive the anti-nuclear, pacifistic political themes of human value in these works.

II. Context

For Japan, World War II started in 1931 with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Then, on December 7th 1941, Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor, prompting war with the United States. Four years later on August 6th and 9th the U.S. more-than evened the score by dropping a

uranium bomb (deemed “Little Boy”) on Hiroshima, and a plutonium bomb (“Fat Man”) on Nagasaki. In Hiroshima at 8:15am, Little Boy killed 80,000 people instantaneously.⁵ According to President Truman, the bomb had “more power than 20,000 tons of TNT.”⁶ Following the blast, fires broke out throughout the city.⁷ As the hot air from the fires rose, vast amounts of cold air rushed in to fill the void. Within the first 30 minutes following the blast, the wind from both the hot air quickly rising and cold air flowing into its place fueled the flames causing a fire storm that lasted until roughly 5pm.⁸ Approximately 13 square kilometers of Hiroshima were reduced to ash.⁹ 91.9% of all buildings in Hiroshima were damaged by the blast and/or the fires, and 62% were completely destroyed.¹⁰ Following the blast, people continued to die by these fires and by the radiation from the bomb. By the end of 1945 an estimated 140,000 people had been killed in Hiroshima, and another 70,000 in Nagasaki.¹¹ At first, doctors and civilians alike were baffled by the symptoms of radiation poisoning.¹² Doctors originally diagnosed the vomiting and diarrhea as dysentery, though, victims also exhibited sudden hair loss and petechiae (blood-blister-like

⁵ Cheree Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima: The Medical Aftermath of the Day that Changed the World,” ed. Paul Smith, accessed 6 May 2018, <http://hiroshima.australiandoctor.com.au/>.

⁶ CriticalPast, “President Harry S. Truman Reads Prepared Speech After Dropping Atomic Bomb on ...HD Stock Footage,” uploaded April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3lb4wTq0jY>

⁷ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings*, trans. Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981), 55.

⁸ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 55-56.

⁹ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 55.

¹⁰ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 57.

¹¹ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 113.

¹² Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

soars).¹³ Even once doctors began to realize the similarities between victims in Hiroshima and victims of X-ray radiation poisoning, they still had only basic treatments (vitamins and liver extracts).¹⁴ In the first four months after the blast an estimated 25,000 people died of radiation poisoning.¹⁵ On September 2 Japan formally declared unconditional surrender and allied doctors began to administer the newly-discovered penicillin, which had notable effect on the radiation.¹⁶

Following the surrender, the United States occupied Japan, staying until 1951, and imposing a strict Press Code banning the publication of any study done on bomb victims, and even going so far as to censor the Japanese translation of “atomic bomb” (*genshi bakudan*).¹⁷ Though the American-enforced Press Code ended in 1952, the Japanese government continued to censor overtly bomb-related media until the 1970s.¹⁸ In the immediate years after the war and during the Press Code, Hiroshima, because its annihilation ended the Pacific war, became a symbol of peace not only from the U.S. perspective, but also in the Japanese narrative of the war.¹⁹ The cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and those who died in the bombings were seen, in this narrative, as necessary sacrifices to the goal of world peace.²⁰ The narrative typically blamed

¹³ Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

¹⁴ Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

¹⁵ Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

¹⁶ Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

¹⁷ Corbin, “The Fallout: Hiroshima.”

¹⁸ Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Atomic Comics: Cartoonists Confront the Nuclear World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2012), 108.

¹⁹ Ronni Alexander, “Remembering Hiroshima: Bio-Politics, Popoki, and Sensual Expressions of War,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 2. (2012), accessed 6 March 2018, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=dc7d312d-5f3f-4b3e-bff1-e8209878084d%40sessionmgr4006>, 207-208.

²⁰ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 496-497.

the death and destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki not on the United States and those who decided to use the bombs, but on the bombs themselves, as actors with their own agency.²¹ This strange shift of blame allowed the United States to play the role of liberators as they occupied the devastated country, and allowed Japan to see itself as victim of the bomb rather than war aggressor.

Japan distanced itself from pre-1945 Japan, both by staging itself as victim, and through a trend in writings until the 1960s denouncing Japan's pre-1945 militarism which positioned the new Japan (post-1945) as enough enlightened from that militarism to denounce it.²² This focus on pre-1945 militarism lost ground at the end of the 1950s when Japan's economy miraculously boomed, in large part due to the efforts of those who had been high-ranking officers and officials during the war.²³ With the economic prosperity shielding former military officials, and bomb photos and information starting to slowly come out in the late 1950s, the focus on Japan as atomic-victim amped up in the 1960s, with strong anti-nuclear movements and pacifism gaining even more ground.²⁴

Throughout these periods, survivors of the bomb (known as *hibakusha*) were ostracized by those who hadn't experienced the destruction first-hand.²⁵ This was primarily because of

²¹ Alexander, "Remembering Hiroshima," 207-208.

²² Naoko Shimazu, "Popular Representations of the Past: The Case of Postwar Japan," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 no.1 (2003), accessed 7 March 2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3180699.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A76916068fbf3244ba479551e5266d42f>, 103-105.

²³ Shimazu, "Popular Representations of the Past," 105.

²⁴ Alexander, "Remembering Hiroshima," 208-209.
Shimazu, "Popular Representations of the Past," 110.
And The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 498.

²⁵ Robert Jay Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (New York: Random House, 1967), 168-171.

concern over the continued threat of radiation poisoning, especially in offspring.²⁶ Seemingly healthy *Hibakusha* could, at any moment, start showing symptoms of the radiation and could die, no matter how many years had passed since the initial bombing.²⁷ In addition, there were misconceptions about the contagiousness of radiation poisoning, and a belief that the poisoning could be passed down genetically. These concerns were not helped by the Press Code's censorship of any potential studies of the actual effects of radiation poisoning. As a result, Japanese society saw survivors of the bomb as harbingers of disease and dangerous to get close to for fear of contamination.²⁸

During the period between 1945 and 1972, with the U.S.-imposed Press Code and Japan's self-censoring of critical depictions of the bomb, comic books played an important social role by getting around this censorship. As historian Ferenc Morton Szasz put it, "under the guise of fantasy and allegory, [comics such as] Astro Boy and Godzilla could present views on the atomic age that a Japanese editorial columnist or magazine writer could voice only with difficulty."²⁹ Comics thus provided a public space and outlet for otherwise censored political frustration. Building on this role, Keiji Nakazawa's *I Saw It* (1972) marked the beginning of the new period of open information and explicit representations of the atomic bombings, as well as raising the surprisingly rare question of the responsibility of using the atomic bombs.³⁰

²⁶ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 491-495.

²⁷ The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 495.

²⁸ Alexander, "Remembering Hiroshima," 208.

²⁹ Szasz, *Atomic Comics*, 108.

³⁰ Szasz, *Atomic Comics*, 110.

III. The Comic as a Medium for Tragedy

The comic form has increasingly been used to depict less and less comical concepts. The notion of comics as a tool for telling serious and exceedingly tragic narratives was popularized internationally by Art Spiegelman's 1980-1991 *Maus* series, a heartfelt and harrowing depiction of Spiegelman's father's experience as a Polish Jew before World War II, in Auschwitz, and after the war. In these more serious forms, graphic novels artists have conveyed multi-faceted and varied political messages. These politics can feel more personal in this medium because of the hand-written style and often-times more loose, seemingly doodle-ish artwork that can foster an almost child-like connection between artist and reader.

A. The Medium Itself: Manga

Japan's culture is even more intrinsically tied to comics than that of the United States. By some estimates, manga account for 40% of the literature currently being published in Japan.³¹ As such, historians such as Frederik Schodt have claimed that it would be impossible to understand modern Japan without addressing the role of manga.³² This role undoubtedly has increased since the 1970s, though the industry of comic books originated in Japan perhaps as far back as the early seventeenth century.³³ Translations into European languages only began in 1980³⁴ reflecting an increase in manga popularity both in Japan and abroad. In 1983, this

³¹ Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Atomic Comics: Cartoonists Confront the Nuclear World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2012), 102.

³² Ibid 102.

³³ Adam L. Kern, "East Asian Comix: Intermingling Japanese *Manga* and Euro-American Comics," *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, ed. Frank Bramlett, Roy T. Cook, and Aaron Meskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 108.

³⁴ Jonathan Evans, "Comics and Translation," *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, ed. Frank Bramlett, Roy T. Cook, and Aaron Meskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 323.

popularity reached the point that, as Schodt announced, “Japan now uses more paper for its comics than it does for its toilet paper.”³⁵

Manga tended to utilize much more visual symbolism than American or European comic strips of the 1970s and ‘80s. This was for multiple reasons, but one such factor was simply time. Manga, as a rule, tended to be much longer than the American comic strip of the 1980s and prior. Schodt, again in 1983, reported that “when compiled into paperback, one story will often consist of ten volumes, or over two thousand pages.”³⁶ Schodt further revealed that the average reader would take twenty minutes to read one of these 320-page comic book volumes, meaning they spent a mere 3.75 seconds on each page.³⁷ Working with such short spans of the reader’s attention, manga artists used many more visual cues and onomatopoeia (visualized sound effects, such as “blam!”) than text-heavy American comics. As such, readers and artists developed a language of symbols that could be read at the necessarily quick pace: sweat drops meant anxiety, barren trees accompanied fights to the death, and falling cherry blossoms followed a hero’s death.³⁸ This symbol-heavy form allows for a more intertextual relationship in manga, and a greater abstraction, potentially leading to greater involvement between reader and narrative.

B. Increased Personal Connection

All four of the manga we are looking at use, in some way or another, a simplified drawing style, increasing symbolic meaning. Comic theorist Scott McCloud theorizes that through simplified art, artists can increase meaning. He terms this concept “amplification

³⁵ Frederik L. Schodt, *Manga! Manga!: The World of Japanese Comics* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 12.

³⁶ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, 18.

³⁷ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, 18.

³⁸ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, 21-22.

through simplification,” which states that “by reducing an image to its ‘essential meaning,’ the artist can amplify meaning in a way that realistic art cannot.”³⁹ In this simplified style, the reader must fill in the rest of the scenes that the artist has only suggested.⁴⁰ In this act of imaginative ‘closure,’ the line between reader and artist becomes slightly more hazy. This line is certainly blurred in other media (for example, an abstract painting where the viewer’s inference of meaning is just as important as the painting itself), but the blurring becomes especially powerful when the reader becomes, in this way, a part of these narratives of trauma.

IV. Themes

A. Innocence

In addition to amplifying meaning and reader’s complicity in the narrative, the specific way in which Nakazawa, Mizuki, and Kouno (as well as many other artists) use their simplicity, conveys a certain child-like innocence. Nakazawa’s *I Saw It* and *Barefoot Gen* use a constant child-like cartoon style, which depicts the story as told by a six-year-old boy. This style contrasts in a somewhat disturbing manner to the poverty, violence, and suffering portrayed throughout the narrative, constantly reminding readers that this is all happening to a child. The fact that the protagonist is a child in Nakazawa’s work, is not just strategic storytelling. Both works are semi-autobiographical. Nakazawa was himself a six-year-old when he experienced the bomb blast and lost his father, sister, and little brother. His story-telling garners empathy in this way, not just

³⁹ Jane L. Chapman, Dan Ellin, and Adam Sherif, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 52-53.

⁴⁰ Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 52.

because these horrendous things are happening to any child, but because it is the grown-up version of this six-year-old boy himself who is showing us what happened to him and his family.

Shigeru Mizuki's story, too, is semi-autobiographical. And, though he was older than Nakazawa during the tail-end of the war (Mizuki was 20 when he was drafted in 1942, so 22 or 23 when the manga takes place), he has a different physical source of sympathy: he lost his left arm in an allied bombing run.⁴¹ In addition to the autobiographical source of reader pity, Mizuki's trademark style of very simplified caricatures of protagonists against hyper-detailed backgrounds and background characters, implies a similar vulnerability of the protagonists as we see in Nakazawa's work. And the simplicity and expressiveness of Mizuki's characters' buffoonish faces greatly amplifies reader sympathy for them (See **Figure 1**).⁴² These characters are depicted in a similar manner as Disney uses for bumbling sidekicks in their animated films. Think Pumbaa in *The Lion King*, or Olaf in *Frozen*. The characters are sympathetic because their increased expressivity and emotionality tug on our maternal instincts by implying their child-like need to be taken care of. In *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* not only are these loveable buffoons not taken care of, they are exploited and sent to die inconsequentially.

Fumiyo Kouno's *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* is not autobiographical. Kouno was not a survivor of World War II (she was born in 1968, 23 years after the war ended), though she was born and raised in Hiroshima.⁴³ She was encouraged to

⁴¹ Matt Alt, "Shigeru Mizuki's War-Haunted Art and Life," last modified December 10, 2015, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/shigeru-mizukis-war-haunted-creatures>.

⁴² Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 54.

⁴³ Terry Hong, "Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms by Fumiyo Kouno, translated by Naoko Amemiya and Andy Nakatani, edited by Patrick Macias and Colin Turner," last modified December 16, 2009. <http://smithsonianapa.org/bookdragon/town-of-evening-calm-country-of-cherry-blossoms-by-fumiyo-kouno-translated-by-naoko-amemiya-and-andy-nakatani-edited-by-patrick-macias-and-colin-turner/>.

write about the bomb by her editor, and although she felt uncomfortable focusing on such an intense and devastating subject, she decided she had a duty to show the world the ravaging effects of the bombing.⁴⁴ *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* is told throughout in a simplified, loose, flowing, style, which, like *Gen*, contrasts starkly with the heavy subject matter. This is most disturbing in a panel depicting a flashback: the main character of *Town of Evening Calm* (the first part), Minami, stands on a bridge and is reminded of the scene from that same bridge ten years prior, on August 6th, 1945 (see **Figure 2**). The drawing style changes in the mangled dead bodies lying face down on the cracked bridge. The hordes of corpses floating down the river look like paper dolls with stick-figure faces.⁴⁵ This increased abstraction, in a way so reminiscent of a child's drawings, is truly chilling.

Historian Jane Chapman argues that in these depictions, “traumatic events are made more poignant, more shocking and less justifiable because they are seen to be happening to innocent victims.”⁴⁶ The calls to childhood and vulnerability garner increased reader sympathy and attachment to the characters, while the traumatic experiences are seen as that much worse because they are happening to innocent and helpless victims. These manga return the humanity to their characters by depicting them as innocent victims, thus fighting against the various political, social, and psychological factors that took their personhood away from them.

B. Psychic Numbing: Walking on Corpses

⁴⁴ Hong, “Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms by Fumiyo Kouno.”

⁴⁵ Fumiyo Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* trans. Izumi Evers, ed. Patrick Macias and Colin Turner (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2006), 22.

⁴⁶ Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 54.

While the abstraction of the art and innocence of the protagonists in these manga pique the readers emotions, in *I Saw It*, and *Town of Evening Calm*, characters show a dramatic lack of emotion in what psychiatrist and scholar Robert Jay Lifton calls “psychic numbing.”⁴⁷ Lifton defines this as “the diminished capacity to feel, in which the mind and feelings shut down.”⁴⁸ This numbness is shown very explicitly in *I Saw It* when, in the hours and days after the bomb hit, the narrator (Keiji in his 30s) states “My mother and I were in a daze. We felt no sadness. No pain—no feelings of any kind. Stepping on corpses didn’t bother me. After seeing so many bodies, my emotions were numbed”(see **Figure 3**).⁴⁹ This memory is mirrored in a Nagasaki survivor’s experience expressed in a 2004 study on the psychological impact on survivors: “as we repeated this action [of carrying wounded people off of a train] many times, we became more and more insensitive. In the end, we felt nothing even if we strode over dead bodies.”⁵⁰

In *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, though the creator was not a victim herself, the image of treading over corpses is presented once again—this time in flashback. The protagonist, Minami, is triggered by a bridge that had been part of the setting during her experience of the bomb, and the world turns nightmarishly into her memory. The panels shift orientation and dimensions—the images now sideways in long panels while the text remains right-side-up (see **Figure 5**). Thus we are shown how her world literally went topsy-

⁴⁷ Lifton’s 1980 study “the concept of the survivor,” as summarized in Aiko Sawada, Julia Chaitin, and Dan Bar-On, “Surviving Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Experiences and Psychosocial Meanings,” *Psychiatry: Interpersonal & Biological Processes* (March 1, 2004), accessed April 6, 2018, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=a359a9c2-72e5-470b-a412-0683c5b94411%40sessionmgr101>, 46.

⁴⁸ Lifton’s 1975 and 1980 studies as summarized in Sawada, et al, “Surviving Hiroshima and Nagasaki,” 46.

⁴⁹ Keiji Nakazawa, *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor’s True Story* (San Francisco: Educomics, 1982), accessed April 15 2018, <https://archive.org/details/SCAN0084>, 21.

⁵⁰ Nagasaki survivor quoted in Sawada, et al, “Surviving Hiroshima and Nagasaki,” 52.

turvy, losing all stability or order. She describes running away, leaving wounded friends behind her. The narrative speech is curt, and matter-of-fact: “August Seventh, I found my sister Kasumi.”⁵¹ This contrasts from the normal, fairly cheerful word bubbles that accompany modern Minami. She goes on in this bare style stating “It no longer bothered me to walk over the dead. Sometimes I stepped on them. Burnt flesh would peel and I would slip” (see **Figure 4**).⁵²

This apathy in the face of death, or “psychic closing-off” as Lifton terms it, is both a strategy to avoid the pain of loss, and, “is itself a symbolic form of death.”⁵³ Lifton suggests that psychic numbing or closing-off had a close relationship to imagining one’s own death.⁵⁴ Kuono shows this relationship as Minami declares that in the wake of the bomb she had “become a different person,”⁵⁵ a part of her had died, and that she didn’t “belong here in this world,” the world of the living.⁵⁶ *Hibakusha*’s emotional distancing from the corpses layering the streets developed out of too much identification with those corpses. Thus the empathy of Minami and Gen had to die with the corpses so that the rest of them could continue to survive.

C. Zombies and the Living Dead

Another form of death for *hibakusha* was the way that those who were burned the worst were repeatedly compared to zombies. This analogy fit on multiply levels. Firstly, it was an apt physical description: with their arms outstretched away from their bodies in order to avoid friction or painful contact with the body, their skin burned to the point of melting, sliding off

⁵¹ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 24.

⁵² Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 24.

⁵³ Lifton, *Death in Life*, 34.

⁵⁴ Lifton *Death in Life*, 34.

⁵⁵ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 24.

⁵⁶ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 23 and 25.

their bodies so that they often held some of this skin in their outstretched hands, and the slow shuffling way that they walked in order to minimize friction, they certainly looked zombie-esque. And secondly, this description alluded to the complex relationship they possessed with death.

The zombie imagery is most prominent in Nakazawa's works (*I Saw It* and *Barefoot Gen*). In *I Saw It*, Keiji, while looking at these zombie-like figures, screams "Yagh! Everybody's turned into monsters!" (See **Figure 5**). Later on, the narrating Keiji describes these figures as "an endless procession of living specters," and that they "looked like ghouls to me"⁵⁷ (see **Figure 6**). Lifton describes the mentality behind this "endless procession" as coming from a "widespread sense that life and death were out of phase with one another, no longer properly distinguishable—which lent an aura of weirdness and unreality to the entire city."⁵⁸ This lack of reality and blurring of the line between life and death lead survivors, shocked, and disoriented in this nightmare-world, to merely wander, directionless, along with masses of other wanderers.⁵⁹ This lack of direction or purpose, the slow gait, the way their skin hung only loosely to their bodies, and the fact that many would simply die in their tracks (see **Figure 3**), all combined to create an atmosphere of death.⁶⁰ As Lifton concludes from his own sources, the implication was that their "identity as living human beings had been virtually destroyed."⁶¹ One of Lifton's sources, a Hiroshima survivor, stated simply, "I was not really alive."⁶² This concept of undead-ness is stated explicitly in *Barefoot Gen: The Day After* when the setting is described thusly: "Hiroshima

⁵⁷ Nakazawa, *I Saw It*, 20.

⁵⁸ Lifton, *Death in Life*, 23.

⁵⁹ Lifton, *Death in Life*, 23-27.

⁶⁰ Lifton, *Death in Life*, 25-27.

⁶¹ Lifton, *Death in Life*, 26.

⁶² Hiroshima survivor quoted in Lifton, *Death in Life*, 27.

has become a city of walking dead . . .” against the image of a moaning horde of ghoulish survivors.⁶³

According to trauma theorist Cathy Caruth, trauma, such as surviving mass death, is characterized by repetition and flashbacks forcing survivors back into the scenes of their trauma. Because of this, she states that a crucial question would be “Is the trauma the encounter with death, or the ongoing experience of having survived it?”⁶⁴ Caruth goes on to describe the trauma as “the oscillation between a *crisis of death* and the correlative *crisis of life*: between the story of the unbearable nature of an event and the story of the unbearable nature of its survival.”⁶⁵ This question implies the continuation of the encounter with death, and potentially a continuation of death itself. The ongoing experience of death is what is depicted in *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*. Minami expresses this when, ten years after the bombing, she hears a voice tell her “you don’t belong there in that world” of life, happiness, and humanity.⁶⁶ Later on, she becomes ill with radiation sickness, losing first her muscle function and mobility (her ability to move in the world of the living), then starts coughing up blood, and then loses her eyesight. She remembers how her sister, Kasumi, fell ill two months after the bombing. She describes how it discolored her body and then took away her mind: “Her body covered in purple splotches, she would suddenly start hitting and yelling at us. That’s how it was as she passed away.”⁶⁷ The sickness thus took away both her body and her consciousness before fully taking

⁶³ Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen: The Day After: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima*, trans. Dadakai and Project Gen (Santa Cruz: New Society Publishers, 1988), 1.

⁶⁴ Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 7.

⁶⁵ Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 7.

⁶⁶ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 23.

⁶⁷ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 31.

her life. Finally, Minami falls to the same fate as she lies in a blank world, unable to move, spitting up not just blood, but her insides as well, and she fully abandons life. This fulfillment of death due to the bomb ten years after it was detonated illustrates that the ongoing experience of living death is not just mental, but physical as well in the case of atomic weaponry. The zombie survivors, even those who weren't physically deformed or shambling anymore, could be reclaimed by death at any moment, no matter how long it had been.

D. Military Dehumanization and Honor

Another form of reducing perceived life, was the dehumanization of both self and others, comparing human life to either animals or objects. This trend was not particular to just bomb victims. It is also very present in the pre-1945 militaristic presentations of Japanese society both from the civilian perspective in *Barefoot Gen*, and in the army battalion shown in *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*. This theme of militarily reduced life in Nakazawa and Mizuki's work provides both critique of pre-1945 militarism, demanding responsibility and change from the corrupt, honor-crazy system, while simultaneously distancing themselves from complicity in this system.

Mizuki makes it infinitely clear that low-ranking soldiers were not valued as human beings, that instead, their worth is directly tied to how much they are willing to do for Japan and the emperor. One low-ranking soldier states simply, "they think of us as worms and nothing more."⁶⁸ This fact is reinforced when Lieutenant-Colonel Kido shouts at Dr. Ishiyama (also low-ranking) "Is your little worm life so precious?!" (See **Figure 7**).⁶⁹ Reducing life in this way was an obvious strategy for military leaders to be able to make hard decisions with the lives of their

⁶⁸ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 279.

⁶⁹ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 289.

inferiors. However, this strategy is shown to have gone too far when the rookies' lives are used with such disregard as to send them on a suicide mission that will make very little impact in the war. The extent to which honor is over-valued is again presented after the battalion retreats due to their realization that they are far outnumbered and their fighting is making no effect. In response they are severely reprimanded for not dying, and sent on a new suicide mission. Not for strategic purposes, but rather to fulfill the bureaucratic paperwork that had already deemed them dead, and to fulfill their promise to die. In their final suicide charge, we are shown body parts flying out from a scene of destruction and explosion. (See **Figure 8**).⁷⁰ Their physical humanity is being ripped apart for the sake of their perceived honor, in order to fulfill their "noble deaths" in battle for the emperor.

In the afterwards of *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, Mizuki sums up the underlying mentality of the military: "In our military, soldiers and socks were consumables; a soldier ranked no higher than a cat. But when it came to death, it turns out we were human beings after all."⁷¹ Mizuki, however, undermines this mentality in his work. The one survivor of the final suicide charge, Maruyama, wakes up to fly-eggs hatching in a bullet hole in his cheek (See **Figure 9**). He has been reduced back to a state of nature, a breeding ground for insects, implying both death and the decomposition that goes along with it, and a more general lack of humanity. This scene undercuts the supposed honor his fellow soldiers gave their lives for. This man hadn't retreated: he had faced the suicide charge, but he was reduced to a sort of living death with no honor whatsoever (waking up to insects hatching in your face, generally the most recognizably human part of you, is not exactly noble imagery). The fact that the flies, one of the least human or

⁷⁰ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 353.

⁷¹ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 368.

respected animals, found a home in a bullet hole further undercuts the idea that death in battle reaps honor.

This mentality of honor above everything is shown to be ridiculous and extremely harmful on the civilian population as well in *Barefoot Gen*. Nakazawa's father was a pacifist against the war. This is emphasized in *Barefoot Gen* when Gen's father receives beatings, is called a coward and traitor, and is thrown in jail for his anti-war beliefs. These insults are transferred to his family as well, with neighbors calling Gen and his little brother names and bullying them, and parents warning their children "You'll turn stupid if you play with traitors' kids."⁷² This ostracism becomes life-threatening when potentially sympathetic neighbors are scared to help the starving family for fear of similar ostracism from the community. The mentality is pervasive in education as well. When Gen's sister, Eiko is wrongfully accused of stealing, the teacher, Mr. Namuta, strip-searches her. When he finds nothing, he refuses to believe that she didn't do it, stating as evidence "Your father's an anti-war traitor who's in police custody. He's probably a thief, too."⁷³ Honor, here, is presented as something of intrinsic value. Eiko being forced to stand naked while being accused of thievery and lying are seen as atrocious accusations because they dishonor her and her family. However, the over-valuing of honor is shown as dangerous and cruel when it overpowers empathy and truth, and leads people to blindly follow the biases that their superiors have instilled within them.

E. Repetition and Flashback

⁷² Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima, Volume One*, trans. Project Gen, (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004), 58.

⁷³ Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen*, 56.

According to trauma theorist Cathy Caruth, “the history of the traumatized individual, is nothing other than the determined repetition of the event of destruction.”⁷⁴ In these comics repetition is shown in various forms, but flashback is the most prevalent. Flashbacks, according to Roger Luckhurst, are integral to the concept of trauma. He emphasizes the visual component of flashbacks: “the unbidden flashback . . . abolishes time and re-immerses you in the visual field of the inaugurating traumatic instant.”⁷⁵ He goes on to discuss them as primarily image-based, as other mental processes shut down: “The visual intrusion occurs because the linguistic and memorial machineries completely fail to integrate or process the traumatic image.”⁷⁶ Luckhurst thus concludes that images may be the true medium in which trauma presents itself: “Perhaps, then, it is in the image that the psychic registration of trauma truly resides.”⁷⁷ Manga’s image-driven style is then uniquely equipped to depict the reality of trauma.

Town of Evening Calm illustrates this flashback style most strikingly, though the main story of *I Saw It*, too, is presented almost in its entirety as a flashback. Minami’s flashbacks are fully out of her control, and the image changes drastically to accommodate this lack of control and to illustrate the full visual immersion that Minami experiences in the flashback (see **Figure 10**). After the flashback, rather than desiring that the bomb had never happened or even that she had been elsewhere, she instead merely desires to forget: “If only I could forget it all” she says to herself, and repeats the sentiment a page later: “If only I could forget that all this had

⁷⁴ Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 63.

⁷⁵ Roger Luckhurst quoted in Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 56.

⁷⁶ Roger Luckhurst quoted in Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 56.

⁷⁷ Roger Luckhurst quoted in Chapman, et al, *Comics, the Holocaust, and Hiroshima*, 56.

happened.”⁷⁸ This sentiment recalls Cathy Caruth’s fundamental question of trauma: “Is the trauma the encounter with death, or the ongoing experience of having survived it?”⁷⁹ For Minami, the pain of survival looms larger than the event itself. Her wish is merely to forget. This wish isn’t purely mental for her either: the survival of the bomb (and the nuclear fallout) is what leads to her death, in the the form of radiation poisoning. Thus Caruth’s question is embodied not only by Minami’s sole wish to forget, but by her body’s inability to overcome the ongoing trauma of the bomb.

F. Political Messages

None of these manga are presented as mere story for the sake of story. Rather, they each have a very clear political critique and cause. In showing these incredibly personal stories, Nakazawa, Mizuki, and Kuono are asking us, as readers, to consider these traumatic instances of mass death and act based on how these stories make us feel as fellow human beings.

Nakazawa’s *I Saw It* states its anti-nuclear message explicitly as the cartoonized author shouts to the heavens “I’ll draw cartoons about the atomic bomb, damn it! I’ll fight it and destroy it through cartoons!!”⁸⁰ Notice that he doesn’t blame America here, or President Truman for deciding to drop the bomb, but rather the bomb itself. This shows both the continuation of the trend mentioned earlier of blaming the bomb as an actor in its own right (see context section, page 6), as well as the larger denouncement of nukes in general, no matter who uses them, or for what purpose. Going on to expand the denouncement from just the atomic bomb, the cartoon Nakazawa declares “And I’ll show the one’s who started the war. The ones who used us as their

⁷⁸ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 25 and 26.

⁷⁹ Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 7.

⁸⁰ Nakazawa, *I Saw It*, 44.

play things!” (See **Figure 11**).⁸¹ Thus blaming not only the bomb or nuclear warfare in general, but Japan for initiating the war.

As Nakazawa elongated his story and loosely fictionalized it in *Barfoot Gen*, the political message increased emphasis on this blame on Japan’s militarization. As discussed earlier, *Gen* focuses in large part on the militarized atmosphere of pre-bomb Japan. In this, it vilifies the unquestioning civilians who accepted the wartime propaganda with no regard to the dismal effects of the war on their own communities. Throughout the manga, Gen and his family, as well as their neighbors, are shown to be living in poverty, constantly without enough food. Yet, the townspeople not only accept the war as necessary, but also turn on those who speak against it, ostracizing Gen’s entire family as “traitors” because of Gen’s father’s pacifism.⁸² When Gen’s father, Daikichi Nakaoka, makes very cogent points about the war, rather than engaging in conversation with him, his coworkers and boss stutteringly dismiss him as a traitor, refusing to listen to his points or even refute them (see **Figure 12**).⁸³ Throughout the volume, the majority of the Nakaoka’s neighbors are shown to be unquestioningly loyal to the emperor, fully accepting the nationalist propaganda stating that Americans were devils, and Japan would somehow win the war, despite rising evidence to the contrary. Nakazawa’s blame on the Japanese citizens for accepting and allowing this absurd militarization comes to a head in the final pages of Volume One as Gen’s mother, Kimie, holds up Gen’s new baby sister (born prematurely in the hours after the bomb dropped), instructing her (and us) to “remember this, my little one. This is war. This is

⁸¹ Nakazawa, *I Saw It*, 44.

⁸² See discussion on Military Dehumanization and Honor in *Barefoot Gen* on page 19-20.

⁸³ Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen*, 13.

what took your father, sister, and brother from us. . . .”⁸⁴ After reminding us of the individual human cost of war, and demanding that we continue to remember this devastation, she goes on to decree to her daughter, and, as an extension, Nakazawa’s readers, “When you grow up, you must never, ever let this happen again!” (See **Figure 13**).⁸⁵ In this directive, it is the responsibility not just of politicians, but of society writ large to avoid and denounce war.

Mizuki’s message similarly denounces Japan’s militarism, but it focuses more on the army officials’ disregard for human life, than it does on civilian acceptance of war. I have discussed most of this military dehumanization already (see pages 17-19), but it is worth mentioning the quote with which the manga ends: ““Was the position really so important that they had to go to such lengths [a suicide charge of 81 men] to hold it?””(See **Figure 14**).⁸⁶ This is attributed to an unnamed “regiment commander of a neighboring position,”⁸⁷ providing the doubts as to whether the suicide charge was necessary an authority that the low-ranking soldiers somewhat lacked. Mizuki’s message here is mainly a call for a renewed sense of value of human life. He doesn’t outright denounce war, but rather unnecessary deaths in the name of misguided honor.

Kuono’s message is both a call for remembrance of the long-term effects of the bomb, and a call for increased knowledge about these effects. *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* focuses on life significantly after the war, and the ongoing effects of the bomb, both socially and physically. Physically, in *Town of Evening Calm* it shows Minami dying of

⁸⁴ Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen*, 284.

⁸⁵ Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen*, 284.

⁸⁶ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 361.

⁸⁷ Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths*, 361.

radiation poisoning ten years after the blast, as well as mentioning that her sister had died two months after the bomb. In *Country of Cherry Blossoms* the story centers on Minami's niece, Nanami, whose brother, Nagio, has intense asthma which is thought to be potentially due to their parent's irradiation, their grandmother dies from what is implied to be cancer, and their mother, Kyoka, was mentally "slow,"⁸⁸ perhaps due to the blast. This train of illnesses and death show the long-lasting and unforeseeable effects of radiation. This suggests a message not just about the harm of nuclear warheads, but radiation more generally.

Socially, Kuono shows the ostracism that *hibakusha* faced after the war. Minami's brother, Asahi, who was out of Hiroshima when the bomb was dropped, is discouraged from marrying Kyoka because she is a *hibakusha* victim.⁸⁹ This ostracism is not limited to those who were irradiated first-hand, but also includes second-generation victims. Nagio is similarly discouraged by the parents of his love interest from dating her because of his former asthma.⁹⁰ Even though "it is impossible to determine whether it [the asthma] was caused by the environment or it was something I was born with,"⁹¹ the stigma and fear remained. The unknowability of whether a condition was caused by the bomb or not, and whether or not one would become sick years later from the radiation is the main horror of this manga. As such, the message is not only about never again using nuclear weaponry, or radiation in general, it also suggests a need for research into radiation to combat this unknowability and the fear that accompanies it.

⁸⁸ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 73.

⁸⁹ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 84.

⁹⁰ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 69.

⁹¹ Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, 69.

Conclusion

Manga played a vital role in getting around the post-war censorship and in breaking it. Since then, these manga have illustrated the trauma of the war in a way purely literary narratives simply cannot. According to the very nature of trauma, visuality is an intrinsic part of the experience, especially with regard to flashback, which the reliving aspect of autobiographical manga replicates in a uniquely powerful way. The works of Nakazawa and Mizuki have clear political motivations. They use their personal memories to create an ardent call for humanity, and because of the increased personal connection created by the abstraction of the medium along with the wildly personal narratives, these messages gain a level of genuine-ness that doesn't quite read on the same level in other media. In these narratives of mass death, which are both hugely important to the authors themselves and infamous historic events, these manga representations masterfully create a deeply meaningful human connection to their audiences while simultaneously stating authentic individual trauma. Due to the lack of knowledge about the bomb and its effects and thus the infinite void of the unknown, where seemingly healthy people could become sick and die at any moment, stories such as *Barefoot Gen*, *I Saw It*, and *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* give important validation and emphasis to the pain of this void. These manga provide validation to fellow victims, while showcasing the continued pain of the war to the public and future generations, in the desperate hopes that they won't make the same mistakes.

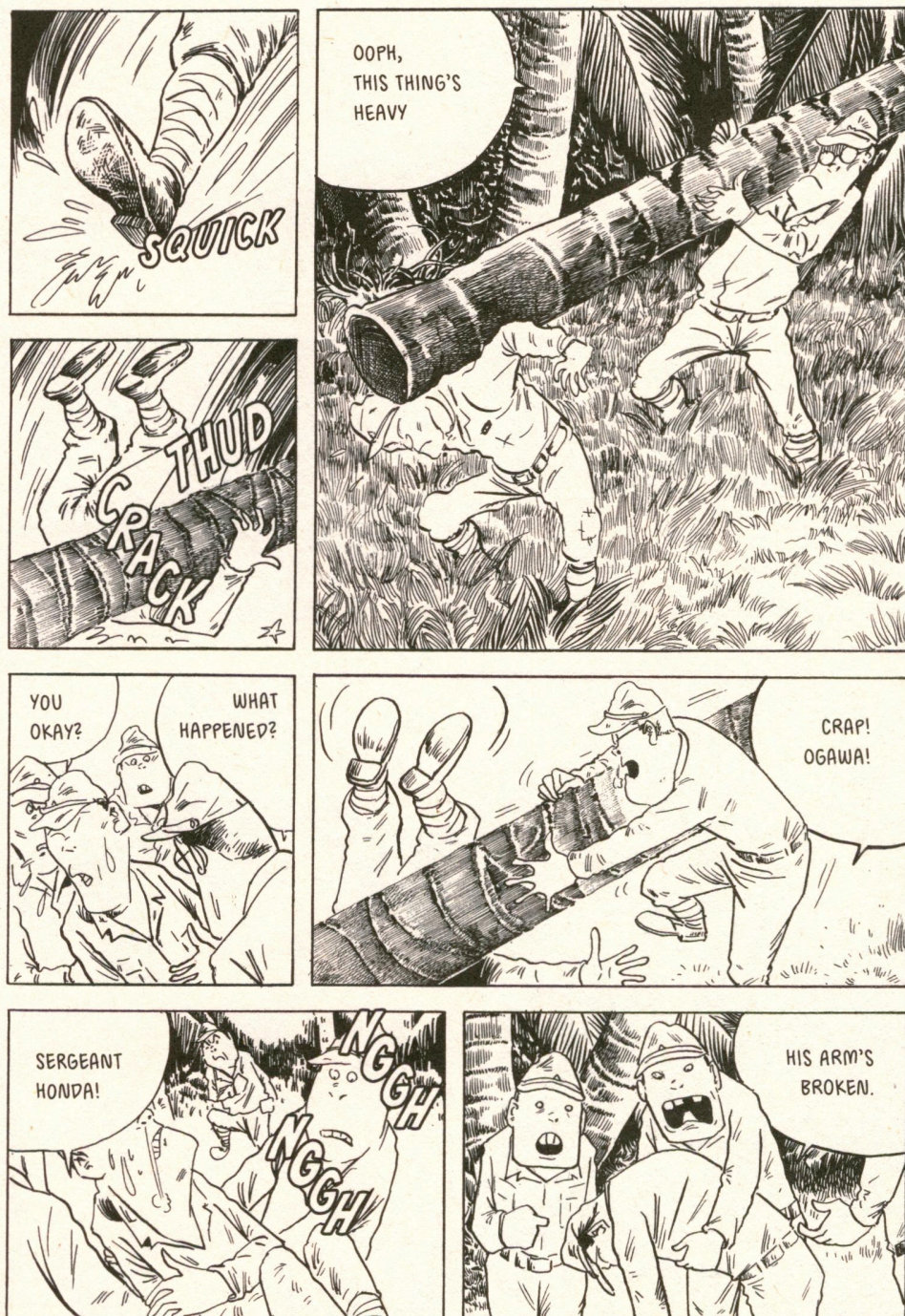


Figure 1. Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 40. **NOTE:** Read from Right to Left.



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Figure 2. Fumiyo Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* trans. Izumi Evers, ed. Patrick Macias and Colin Turner (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2006), accessed 14 March 2018, <https://archive.org/stream/TownOfEveningCalmCountryOfCherryBlossom/e-manga-cherry#page/n23/mode/1up>, 22. Read from Right to Left.

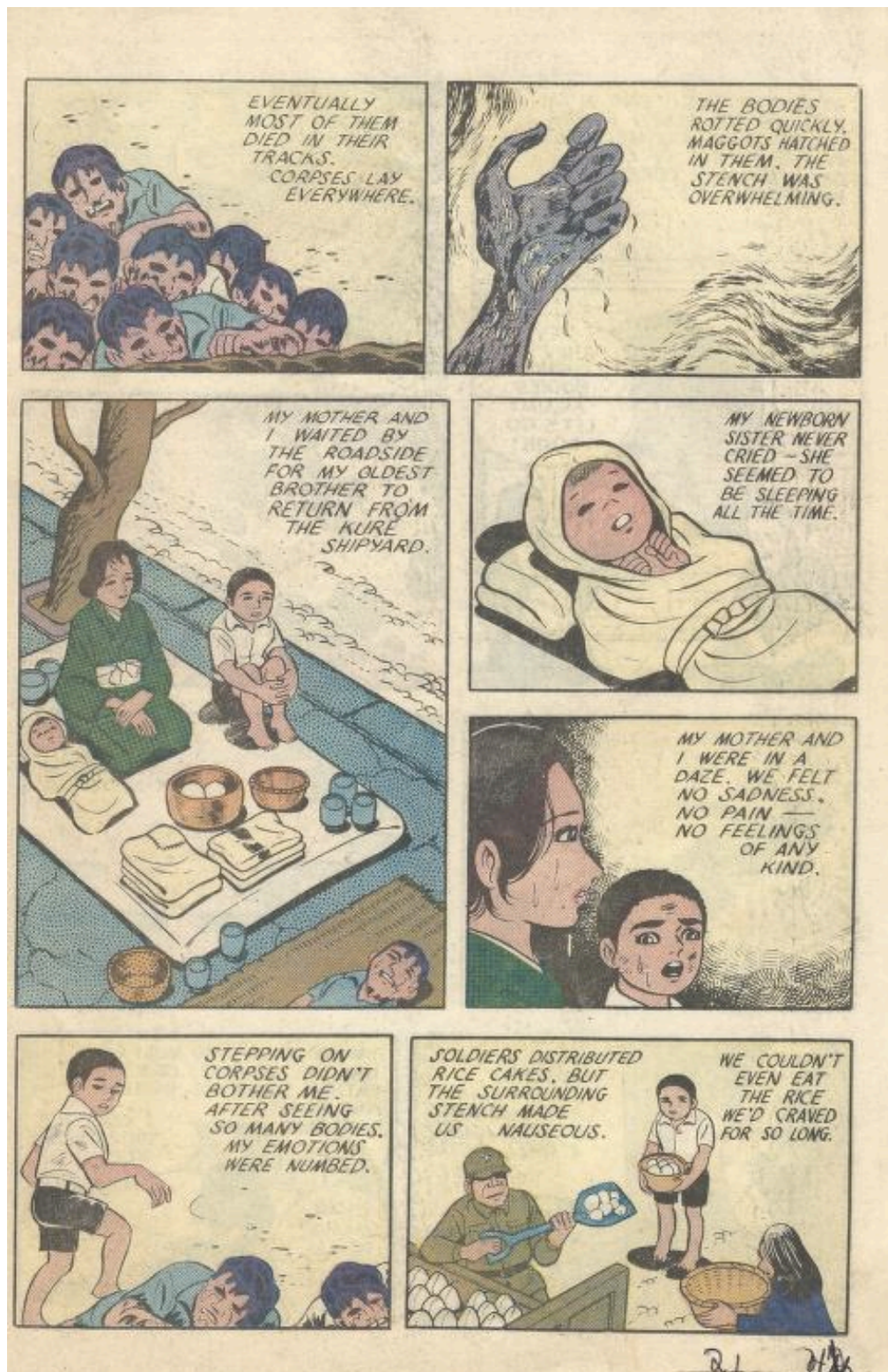


Figure 3. Keiji Nakazawa, *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story* (San Francisco: Educomics, 1982), accessed April 15 2018, <https://archive.org/details/SCAN0084>, 21.

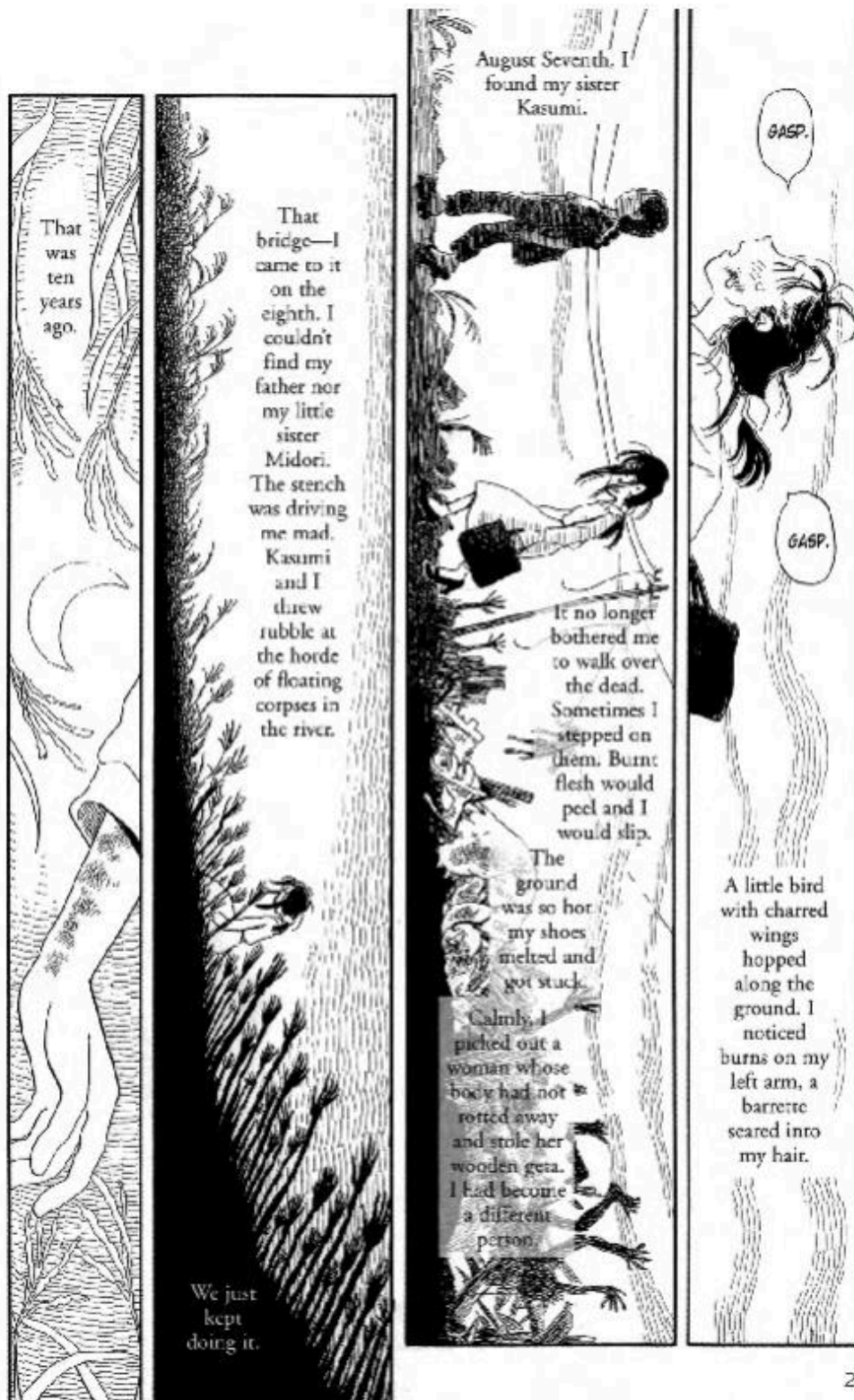


Figure 4. Fumiyo Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* trans. Izumi Evers, ed. Patrick Macias and Colin Turner (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2006), accessed 14 March 2018, <https://archive.org/stream/TownOfEveningCalmCountryOfCherryBlossom/e-manga-cherry#page/n23/mode/1up>, 24. **Read from Right to Left**



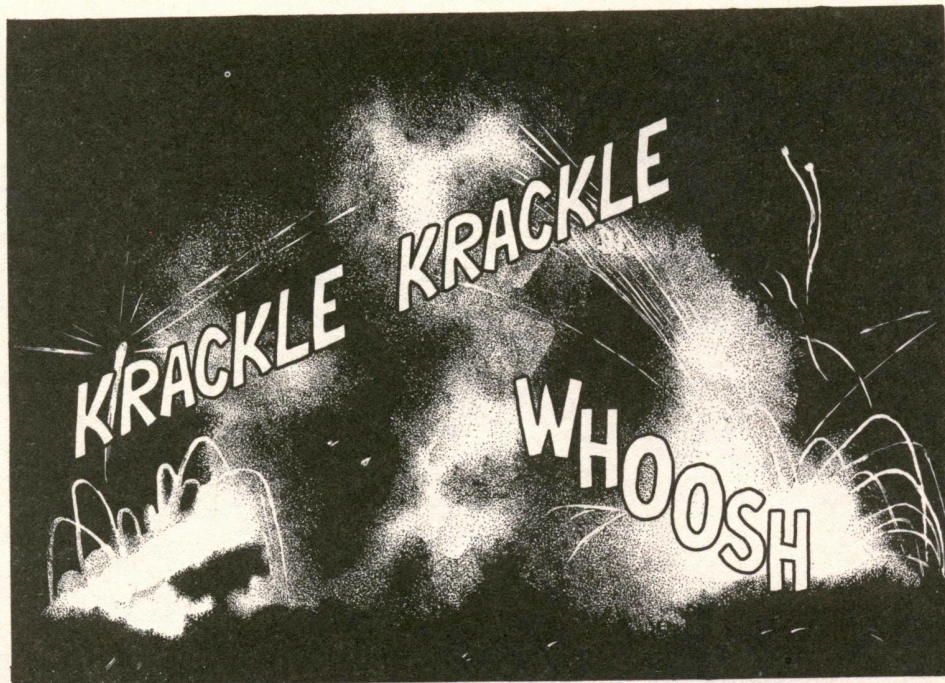
Figure 5. Keiji Nakazawa, *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story* (San Francisco: Educomics, 1982), accessed April 15 2018, <https://archive.org/details/SCAN0084>, 13.



Figure 6. Keiji Nakazawa, *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story* (San Francisco: Educomics, 1982), accessed April 15 2018, <https://archive.org/details/SCAN0084>, 20.



Figure 7. Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 289. **Read from Right to Left.** (The post-it notes on the left and the red underlining were mine. Not in original. Please ignore them.)



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Figure 8. Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 353. (The post-it note on the left was mine. Not in original. Please ignore it.)



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Figure 9. Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 356. Read from Right to Left.



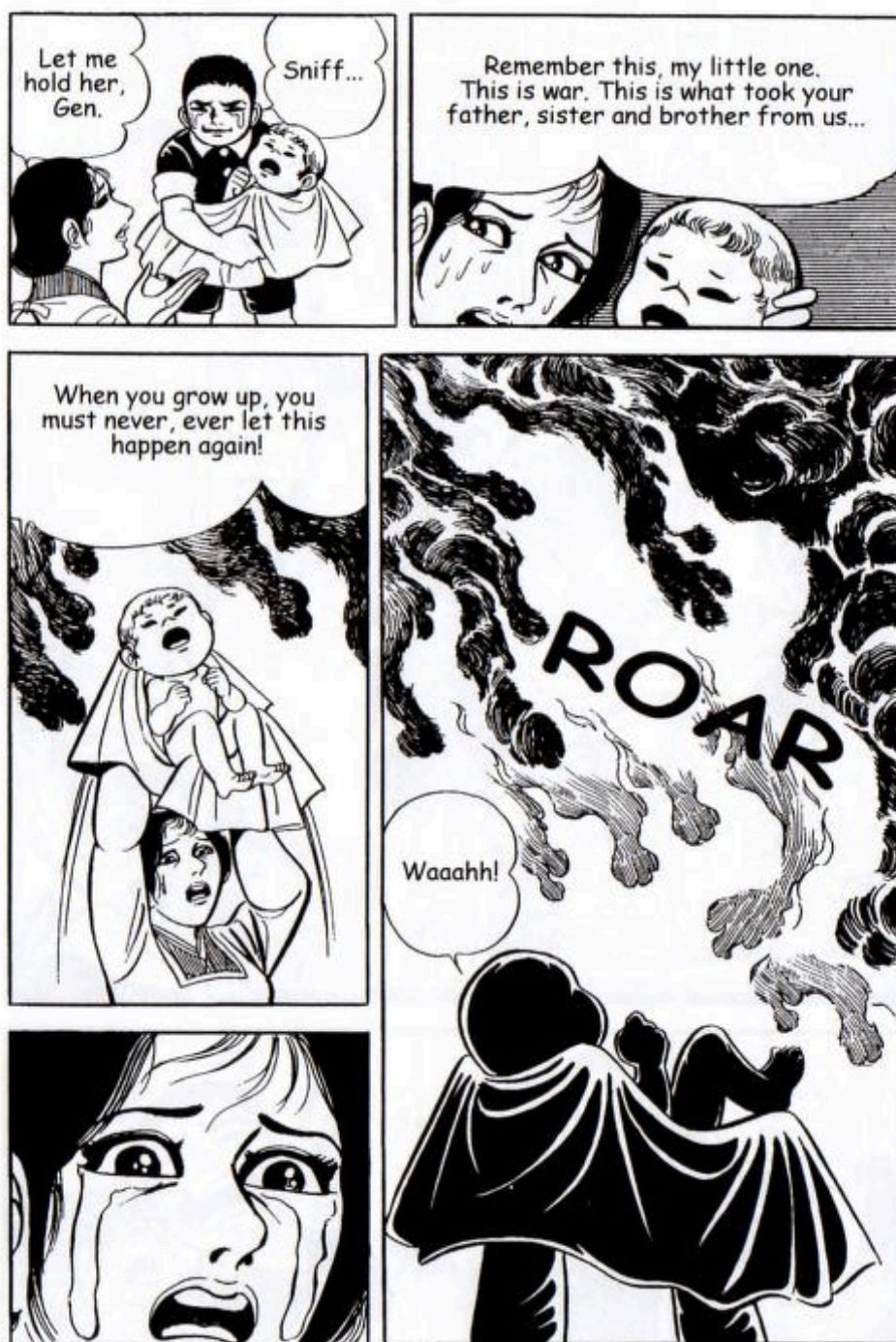
Figure 10. Fumiyo Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms* trans. Izumi Evers, ed. Patrick Macias and Colin Turner (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2006), accessed 14 March 2018, <https://archive.org/stream/TownOfEveningCalmCountryOfCherryBlossom/e-manga-cherry#page/n23/mode/1up>, 23. Read from Right to Left.



Figure 11. Keiji Nakazawa, *I Saw It: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story* (San Francisco: Educomics, 1982), accessed April 15 2018, <https://archive.org/details/SCAN0084>, 44.



Figure 12. Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima, Volume One*, trans. Project Gen (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004), 13.



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Figure 13. Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima, Volume One*, trans. Project Gen (San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004), 284.



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Figure 14. Shigeru Mizuki, *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly, 2011), 361. **Read from Right to Left.** (The red underlining is mine. Not in original. Please ignore it.)

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